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EDITORIAL

Education and Minority Groups

In recent years we have become fully conscious of the danger to our democracy inherent in the conflicts and injustices arising from prejudices and hatreds that interfere with the free development of personalities among the minority groups that make up our citizenship. Numerous organizations have devoted their efforts toward the elimination of prejudices and misunderstandings that hamper free cultural interchange and deny equality of opportunity. It is indeed encouraging to see the aroused public consciousness and the thought that is devoted to the development of a program of education and propaganda in favor of mutual understanding. No one who is interested in the future of America can remain unmoved at this development, nor can he fail to appreciate the advancement in our thinking on intercultural relations. We are certainly moving toward the solution of one of the most serious problems that threaten the future of our democracy.

While this progress has been made, it is necessary to look into our programs and diagnose their weaknesses. I cannot discuss all the programs and shall therefore limit myself to certain aspects of the proposals with reference to education and intercultural understanding. Moreover, I do not have the space to do more than

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state dogmatically my view of the approach toward the development of an educational program.

It is essential to note in the beginning that education is the only available agency in which there is hope of a solution of this vexing problem, and I shall have to assume that there is general agreement on this point. But what sort of education is necessary and how is it to be carried out? In answer to this question we shall have to note the progress that has been made in the development of our conventional educational program. After many years of educational history we have come to an agreement about the building of a curriculum and the procedure in instruction after the curriculum has been accepted. First, the curriculum is constructed on the basis of the needs of those to be taught. That, is, we try to visualize what sort of person we want and then select and organize the subject matter, determine our method, provide the school organization, and select the measurements that will ensure, so far as possible, the realization of our objectives. Second, we do not begin to teach the subject matter selected until we are sure about the needs of the individual pupil. For instance, we would not begin to teach the child reading, spelling, arithmetic, or any other subject until we were sure of his knowledge and then we would advance him from there toward the objectives set up as the end of the educational process.

It would be fatal, therefore, to attempt a program of intercultural education without observing these fundamentals of our accepted educational philosophy and practice. We mean by this that we are sure of failure in this new educational emphasis if we do not determine the needs of the pupils we are instructing and move from there in the direction of eliminating those attitudes that prevent mutual understanding and helpfulness and build in their place new attitudes that are consistent with our democratic ideals. We are quite aware of prejudices that characterize the American people in general. We know the limitations and restrictions that

are placed upon the Negro, the Jew, and many of the other minority groups, but we do not know the nature of attitudes in a particular school community, nor can we take for granted that they will operate in a particular fashion. We have had destruction of church property in certain neighborhoods and have assumed that hatred of the Jews in those communities has led to the defacing of synagogues, that prejudices against the Catholics has caused the defacing of Catholic churches, etc. But we cannot make any such assumptions until we have actually determined what the attitudes of the community are.

What I am insisting upon as good educational procedure is that we build our programs and carry out our instruction after we have determined the exact prejudices and practices with which we intend to deal, the sort of practices we wish to eliminate, and the sort of ideals we wish to establish in the community. I have the impression that most of the programs of instruction in intercultural relations are built upon general impressions and not upon determined needs after careful research. It is my intention to examine at firsthand some of the programs now in operation and report my findings in later issues of *THE JOURNAL*.

E. GEORGE PAYNE

FOREWORD

Following the race riots in many cities of the United States in the summer of 1943, over 150 municipal and State units of government undertook to meet the "rising tide" of tensions with citizens' committees of one sort or another. Many agencies also renewed their emphasis on bringing about a better set of human relations within the country. The editors believed that it would be a good thing to collect some of the experiences of these programs and present them to educators with the thought that it would assist them in understanding the resources within their communities, and, at the same time, it would show them some of the larger perspective within which the problems of human relations within their own schools have to be viewed.

The first two articles described attempts on the part of municipal governments; namely, those of Detroit and New York City. The second two present the programs of State governments; namely, those of Massachusetts and New York State. The last article describes the program of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, as this agency has attempted on a national basis to meet this problem.

Needless to say, it would have been helpful to have had the Fair Employment Practice Committee as a part of the national picture, but the limitation of space and the uncertain status of that agency made it somewhat less desirable to use at this time. It is hoped, however, that these sketches of what is being done will demonstrate to educators and those working in the field of human relations what can be done when government sets itself seriously to the task of leading the social process toward the goals of democracy. The Federal Council program suggests to lay groups a technique whereby they may diagnose their own maladies and meet their own problems of tension.

No attempt is made to evaluate the programs here presented. The authors of most of the articles have been closely associated with the

projects from their inception, and, as a consequence, the articles may in a way be an apologia. On the other hand, they describe with some degree of fidelity the actual workings of the groups involved.

None of us is naïve enough to believe that these gestures will solve the race-relations problems of our society—that job will be accomplished when these in-group out-group prejudices are unlearned—but they do represent the fact that at long last the institution of government is conscious of the threat of this problem to the stability of the social order. These governmental agencies provide a channel through which local groups can reach the political hierarchy to interpret to officialdom the problems growing out of ethnic differences.

THE INTERRACIAL COMMITTEE OF THE CITY OF DETROIT

A CASE HISTORY

Alfred McClung Lee and Norman Daymond Humphrey

Five days after Detroit's most disastrous race riot began, Mayor Edward J. Jeffries, Jr., on June 25, 1943, appointed a committee of twelve under the chairmanship of William J. Norton, executive vice-president of the Children's Fund of Michigan, to serve as a municipal "interracial peace board." This "mayor's committee" was the successor to a series of such gestures in Detroit's turbulent history back over a period of eighteen years. Each of the previous committees had come into existence after riotous events, studied the "situation," prepared and submitted reports and recommendations, and then quietly and ineffectually passed into oblivion.

But the 1943 riots and subsequent democratic agitation brought forth a somewhat more stable structure. After the race riots of June 20, 1943, concerned elements in Detroit's population demanded something more than inquiries into causes, topped by plausible and noncontroversial recommendations. They believed that action was needed. And the action, as these groups saw it, not only involved knowledge of tension causes, not only called for constant fact finding, fact integration, and analysis, but the translation of such studies into things to do and seeing to it that those things are done.¹ As a result of these pressures, the "mayor's interracial peace board" was reconstituted as a budgeted committee organization January 18, 1944, with definitely stated purposes and functions.

The history of the official Detroit interracial organization may well be divided into three phases. These are: (1) postriot (to the

¹ A. M. Lee and N. D. Humphrey, *Race Riot* (New York: Dryden Press, 1943), pp. 25, 51-52, 106-141. See also A. M. Lee, *Race Riots Aren't Necessary* (New York: Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 107, 1945), *passim*, and N. D. Humphrey, "Race Riots and Detroit Social Agencies," *The Compass* (March 1945), pp. 20-24, for technical discussions of these processes.

end of 1943), (2) interim, and (3) recent. Nearly two years elapsed after the riots before the committee entered the third phase and achieved some stature as a functioning unit of the city government.³

In the first or postriot phase of the committee's history, the body was distinctly of a stop-gap character. Composed of six prominent Negroes and an equal number of whites, with a white chairman, it had no budget and no paid staff of its own. What program it had was carried on by its members, with some necessary official and other clerical tasks performed for it by city employees whose services were made available temporarily by other city departments.

In a "preliminary report" to the mayor during the postriot period, the Mayor's Interracial Peace Committee spoke of its objectives as being "to help in calming the public mind, in assisting the restoration of good will between the races, and in preventing future riots." In following its course, the committee insisted that the "issues we are dealing with are not new," that the "solutions for them are not easy," and that the committee would "not yield to momentary hysteria or to extreme partisans, either white or Negro." The report went on to explore "two fields of action, one immediate and the other a long time program." Under immediate steps were a request to the prosecuting attorney for grand jury investigation, a recommendation to the Metropolitan Detroit Council of Social Agencies for what is now called "area work," consideration of a rumor clinic, recognition of inadequate recreational equipment and personnel in the east-side Negro area, and a demand for the expediting of Federal housing projects. Proposed long-range efforts included general suggestions on the improvement of Negro health conditions and on the right of Negroes to equality of opportunity in employment. They also dwelt on how the city's educators might "seek better ways and means of teaching tolerance, courtesy, and kindness among adults and school children" and re-examine

³For a synthesis of experience in various cities with official interracial organizations, see Robert C. Weaver, *Manual for Official Committees* (Chicago: American Council on Race Relations, 1945).

"the curricula of the schools . . . to create interracial tolerance and understanding."³

The grand jury investigation requested by the Mayor's Interracial Peace Committee and by many leading citizens was never initiated.⁴ In time, and not simply as a result of the recommendations of the mayor's board, the Council of Social Agencies in cooperation with city and State commissions on youth and delinquency further developed so-called "area" or district social-service programs, and city recreation facilities also received somewhat larger municipal appropriations that enabled modest expansions. In housing, more temporary shelters were erected in Negro areas, but little was done in terms of the magnitude of the problem. Discrimination in employment declined but largely as a result of the labor shortage, the work of the C.I.O. unions and of enlightened management representatives, the operations of the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practices, efforts made by a Detroit War Chest Agency, the Metropolitan Detroit Council on Fair Employment Practices.⁵ Little was done to improve health conditions. Norton, the peace committee's chairman, gave talks in a number of schools on tolerance and courtesy.

For reasons implicit in this report and inherent in the committee's structure and also because of the mayoralty campaign in the fall of 1943, the Mayor's Interracial Peace Committee never achieved status as a functioning organization. Jeffries ran for re-election against Frank FitzGerald, a candidate supported by the C.I.O. and Negro organizations. The race riot became a major campaign issue. Alarmed by the character of the election struggle, the committee

³ "Preliminary Report to the Mayor of the Mayor's Inter-Racial Peace Committee," MS., undated (1943).

⁴ See Lee and Humphrey, *Race Riot*, *ibid.*, pp. 49-71, 88-97.

⁵ For a description and analysis of this situation, with especial reference to the role of the latter agency, see Clarence Anderson, *Unfinished Business* (Detroit: Metropolitan Detroit Council on Fair Employment Practices, 1944).

passed a resolution introduced by Louis Martin on September 29 requesting that all candidates refrain from statements based upon or stimulating race prejudice. But it was to no avail. Anti-Jeffries forces blamed his indecisiveness for permitting the death toll in the week of June 20 to mount so high.⁶ And even though Jeffries always protested his friendship for the Negro, his supporters did not shrink from Negro-baiting appeals of the most obvious type. Jeffries politely set the line in such statements as the following from a radio broadcast, "I have told you that my stand on mixed housing was one of the reasons for bitter opposition against me on the part of Negro groups and some C.I.O. politicians—the two most belligerent self-seeking groups supporting my opponent. . . . I have tried to safeguard your neighborhoods in the character in which you, their residents, have developed them."⁷ The McGriff neighborhood newspapers headed this speech, "Mayor Exposes Plan to Force Negroes Into White Areas," and bannered other related stories, "If FitzGerald Wins, Negroes Will Flood Area and Redford High School," and "Expose Thomas-Communist Plan to Run City: Amazing Details for Use of Negro Votes."⁸ Regardless of the provocations of his opponent, Jeffrie's campaign spearheaded an upsurge of racial hatred and tension that largely nullified whatever constructive effects his Interracial Peace Committee might have had. The committee as originally constituted on June 25, 1943, officially died—as do all such committees—at the end of Jeffrie's second two-year term on December 31, 1943.

What we have labeled the "interim" or second phase of official interracial organization in Detroit began in January 1944. The re-elected mayor and the common council established a City of

⁶ Lee and Humphrey, *Race Riot*, *ibid.*, chap. 3, esp. pp. 26-44.

⁷ Printed in a circular with the headline, "Mayor Jeffries Is Against Mixed Housing," widely distributed in non-Negro districts.

⁸ *Strathmoor Home Gazette*, October 14, and *Redford Record*, October 21, 1943. The Thomas referred to is R. J. Thomas, President of the U.A.W.—C.I.O.

Detroit Interracial Committee of eleven on January 18. Those appointed were six city department heads—Education, Parks and Recreation, Welfare, Police, Health, and Housing—and five lay citizens, three of the latter colored. Continuity was provided by carrying Norton over as committee chairman. An executive secretary was retained March 1 to whom interracial problems were a novelty, who had had experience as a publicity agent for a trust company and as an active Episcopalian layman. He accepted and held the position for exactly one year on a leave of absence from his bank. The two tasks of the committee, as outlined by the mayor, were to “make recommendations designed to improve those services which affect racial relationships that flow from the several departments of Government to the community” and to “work towards an improvement in the attitudes of white and Negro citizens toward one another.”

The motto of the interim phase might well have been the ancient Greek and Latin proverb, “Make haste slowly.”⁹ Apart from the work of the assistant director, Mrs. Beulah T. Whitby, a Negro social-service executive, in constructing a “community relations barometer”¹⁰ and the organization of subcommittees, little of an incisive nature was accomplished. In an official statement June 9, the committee asserted that it sought to “explore any unnatural barriers that are erected against economic opportunities because of race, color and creed and will work for their elimination,”¹¹ but its reports and actions all tended to be on the level of what a Detroit daily newspaper called “softly-phrased generalities.”¹² The vagueness of the June 9 statement brought public pressures which forced the release June 16 of a previously confidential report to the

⁹ Perhaps even more appropriate would be the “slogan of discreet Liberalism” which Sinclair Lewis put into the mouth of *Gideon Planish* (New York: Random House, 1943), p. 26, “But this isn’t the time for it.”

¹⁰ Suggested by Lee and Humphrey, *Race Riot*, *ibid.*, chap. 10, esp. p. 128.

¹¹ City of Detroit Interracial Committee, *Policy and Program* (June 9, 1944).

¹² *Detroit Times*, June 16, 1944.

mayor May 23. This was somewhat more hard-hitting, but it was still far from outlining an adequate and realistic program.

The delayed report of May 23 "spoke out plainly on the hazards which must be overcome if Detroit is to escape a repetition of the disgraceful violence of a year ago," according to the *Detroit Times* of June 16. The report decried the lack of a settled policy on housing, but it made no attempt, as the Chicago commission did,¹⁹ to condemn restrictive covenants and other segregative legalities. It praised the work of several intercultural conferences, the stimulation for which came from outside its orbit, and commended the Board of Education's committee on intercultural education. It recommended appointment of more Negroes to the police force, and an increase in social studies in the police training curriculum. It suggested means of preventing discord in transportation and stressed the need for more recreational leaders. It proposed a "well conceived long range educational program, not overlooking emphasis on good citizenship." But with a "go slow" policy keynoted, little effective leadership could be afforded to the community. It was fortunate for the committee that no large-scale issue arose during this "interim phase." The committee was also fortunate to have a far-sighted police commissioner and a cooperative superintendent of schools among its members. For apart from these individuals the constructive changes occurring in the community were the work of citizens who had little or no connection with the official committee.

The minority elements had only one sure strong voice in the city's legislative chambers, that of Lieutenant George Edwards, but Edwards as a member of the armed forces could only speak by letter and vote by proxy. Some of the other members of the common council and of the policy-making Housing Commission even acted in a manner hostile to minorities and such as to precipitate trouble.

¹⁹ Robert C. Weaver, *Manual for Official Committees* (Chicago: American Council on Race Relations, 1945), p. 8.

The accomplishments of the official committee during the first phase, just after the riots, were negligible. After the committee was reconstituted and financed, however, its very composition placed certain city departments in a position where their heads at least were forced to learn something of the realities of interracial tensions and of how such tensions might be eased. Facts were gathered, programs considered, and work in the police department and the board of education began to exhibit tangible results.¹⁴ But certain fundamental problems, such as that of Negro housing, received no constructive direction or seriously attempted solution, at least so far as impetus from the committee was concerned. Norton as chairman and his executive secretary continued to emphasize education and the need for "more ethical" behavior. Norton resigned effective August 1 and was succeeded September 15 by an attorney, James K. Watkins, but no change became apparent until the next spring. There was little recognition of the fact that situations mold conduct and that changing attitudes result from changing conditions of behavior. The "interim phase" ended with the termination of the first executive secretary's or, as he was also called, director's one-year leave of absence from the trust company, February 28, 1945.

The third, "recent," and more mature phase of official interracial organization in Detroit dates from the assumption of the office of director by a trained social-service executive, George Schermer, on June 1, 1945. While the phase is as yet a brief one, the tone of the new administration is evident even in its statement of objectives. "The primary problem," according to this document,¹⁵ "is the tension . . . between white and Negro elements of the population. . . . However, tensions between any specified groups have their roots

¹⁴ For an outline of what was undertaken by the Board of Education, see "Building One Nation Indivisible," *American Unity* (December 1944), pp. 3-7 (from a bulletin on intercultural education published by the Detroit Board of Education), and "More of the Detroit Plan," *American Unity* (January 1945), pp. 7-9. See also Marian Edman, "Building Unity Within a Community," *Elementary English Review* (May 1944), pp. 179-184.

¹⁵ *The City of Detroit Interracial Committee Proposes a Cooperative Service* (1945).

buried deep in the economic and cultural fabric of the community. The program . . . therefore, cannot be limited to a direct attack upon Negro-white tensions. It must be a broad and comprehensive program." The services of the committee were then announced as threefold: education, information, and action on specific issues. In direct contrast with the previous administration's "go slow" policy and hush-hush attitude, the Watkins-Schermer leadership called for action on the assumption that "vicious rumors cannot be combatted unless the facts are known."¹⁶ Hence, the committee initiated regular quarterly reports on the general situation and on its own activities. The committee also planned to "devote itself to scientific experimentation in mass education," but this program was more than offset by the race-hate campaign developed in the fall of 1945 by the groups who again supported Jeffries for re-election as mayor.

The Interracial Committee, in its third phase, has divided its functional organization's resources to cultivate five fields: administration and action, popular education, information analysis, field work, and office and clerical work. Supporting committees, reporting to the Interracial Committee, were also further developed and strengthened. Of these, perhaps the most active has been the Education Committee. A mass "barometer committee," designed to do in a composite way what was more specifically defined as several separate indices in our *Race Riot*,¹⁷ became unwieldy as organized and was disbanded, even though it was the one outstanding achievement of the interim phase. A much smaller research advisory committee replaced the barometer committee and started to provide more suitable direction in fact gathering, including the accumulation of "barometer" materials (especially incidents of tension and conflict).

¹⁶ George Schermer, Director, City of Detroit Interracial Committee, "Statement of Objectives, Program and Organization" (June 27, 1945), mimeographed.

¹⁷ Pp. 127-129.

Structurally and in terms of direction, therefore, the Interracial Committee had now become at least potentially useful. It suggested its emerging maturity by staging a spectacular Interracial Workshop Conference June 1, 1945, developed by the continuing assistant director, Mrs. Whitby, and by the chairman of the education subcommittee, Professor Donald C. Marsh. More than 125 persons participated in planning this conference, and more than 1,000 representatives of several hundred organizations attended its sessions. But whatever immediate constructive results the conference and the more adequate program might have had were offset by the mayoralty struggle in the fall of 1945.

In his fourth-term campaign against Richard T. Frankenstein, vice-president of the U.A.W.-C.I.O., Jeffries took the same lines that he had previously followed. He proclaimed himself a friend of organized labor and the Negro. He opposed changing the racial character of any neighborhood. And he protested that self-seeking and largely self-appointed leaders of labor and the Negroes were attacking him. The McGriff neighborhood newspapers again screamed, "White Neighborhoods Again in Peril," "Moscow Run Press Boosts Frankenstein," "PAC, Communists, Gamblers Would Take Over Detroit," and "Negro Predicts More Race Riots."¹⁸ In Jewish neighborhoods, the McGriff *North Detroiter*¹⁹ bannered, "Frankenstein and Father Coughlin: Facts the Jewish Citizen Should Know," with a Yiddish translation. For Negro districts, Jeffries followers distributed through the mails an unsigned circular²⁰ to Negroes that carried these headlines, "*Why Be Fooled Now? Frankenstein's Union For 9 Years Fails To Stop Race Discrimination,*" and "*Frankenstein Has Not Proved Himself A True Friend Of Negro Race.*" The three general-circulation dailies, with protestations of righteousness, participated in the general mudslinging in a backhanded kind of way. As Malcolm W. Bingay noted in his

¹⁸ *The Home Gazette*, October 25, 1945.

¹⁹ October 31, 1945.

²⁰ Sec. 562, P. L. & R. Permit No. 4285.

"Good Morning" column in the *Detroit Free Press*, November 7, the morning after the election, "The mayoralty campaign just closed was about as bad a display of vulgarity, appeals to bigotry, falsehood and all-around viciousness as has ever been known in our community." But Detroit re-elected Jeffries.

Despite the handicap provided by the strongly racist biennial Campaigns of their mayor, the personnel of the Interracial Committee's staff is again aiming at a fresh start.

In addition to the harmony-destroying mayoralty campaigns, the other great barrier to constructive work by the Interracial Committee is the absence in Detroit of a strong and independent citizens' interracial civic organization.²¹ This is probably due to the fact that Detroit has an unusually small and unselfconscious middle class, wedged between the actionist-led forces of management and labor. At any rate, where useful projects of the official body might require public pressure to be achieved and where such an official body might need suggestions and proddings, no adequate civic body exists to furnish such support and stimuli. The Greater Detroit Interracial and Intercultural Fellowship, a citizens' body built about a group of religious leaders, has had the longest continuing existence of those in this field, but by and large it has achieved little. After a year of discussion, it met in 1943 for the first time—as scheduled well in advance—on June 21, the day of the 1943 riot's greatest violence. After a number of sporadic dinner meetings in 1943 and 1944, it attempted in the fall of 1944 to obtain financial support from the Community Fund (War Chest). Failing of this request for funds and other money not being forthcoming, the Fellowship has not been able to launch an effective program.

²¹ For suggestions on the organization and services of a citizens' unofficial interracial body, see our *Race Riot*, *ibid.*, pp. 122-123; Lee, *Race Riots Aren't Necessary*, esp. p. 26; and Humphrey, "The Promotion of Interracial and Intercultural Understanding," *American Unity* (March 1944), p. 6, "Interracialism as Social Education," *Social Education* (April 1944), pp. 149-150, and "Race Can Work Toward Democracy," *The Social Studies* (October 1944), pp. 246-248. On more general problems of social action, see Lee, "Public Relations Counseling as Institutional Psychiatry," *Psychiatry* (August 1943), pp. 271-276.

In the spring of 1944, a city-wide conference by a number of groups entitling themselves the Intercultural Conference of South-eastern Michigan held a truly magnificent gathering early in April 1944 at which outstanding leaders spoke, techniques were described, and resolutions passed, only to have no persisting citizens' body emerge. And it was planned that way. The group from its inception determined that it would not perpetuate itself.

As a result of these failures and the fact that no more general organization has undertaken to fill the need, no unified and sustained effort to channel constructive civic energies into a single and continuing citizens' interracial group has come into existence. As a matter of fact, many of the possible contributions have been dissipated through the inclusion of interested persons into the to-date largely ineffectual committees reporting to the official Interracial Committee.²²

The energies of Detroit find few accommodative outlets. Official and civic interracial bodies—when they are successful—are expressions of social accommodation through the media of individuals and groups adept at such techniques. But in Detroit such energies as are available are drained off into industrial and political conflict. Without a sizable and self-conscious professional group to "carry the ball" in accommodative matters, racial and also religious problems are and will remain political and economic issues in Detroit for many years, issues to be utilized in conflict and not problems to be faced scientifically and professionally and mitigated by such civilized techniques as we know.

²² See Robert C. Weaver, *Community Relations Manual* (Chicago: American Council on Race Relations, 1945), esp. pp. 4-7; *A Community Program for Better Race and Cultural Relations* (Columbus: Columbus Council for Democracy, 1944); Lester Granger, "Hopeful Sign in Race Relations," *Survey Graphic* (November 1944), pp. 455-456, 476-479; and Mayor's Committee on Race Relations, *City Planning in Race Relations* (Chicago, 1944).

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THE MAYOR'S COMMITTEE ON UNITY OF NEW YORK CITY

Dan W. Dodson

Following the riots of 1943 there arose a clamor for a mayor's committee in New York City that would help interpret the relationship of minority groups to the total life of the city. On February 27, 1944, Mayor LaGuardia announced the appointment of such a committee, with Charles Evans Hughes, Jr., as its chairman. This committee consisted of four Catholics, four Negroes, four Jews, representative each of the A.F. of L. and C.I.O., and four other members. The Mayor charged them to study and analyze dangerous trends, and to use their influence to combat them. He provided them with a modest budget for a two-year program, a budget which he raised from private funds, and provided them with space in one of the municipal buildings for offices. It took the committee until June 5 to select an executive director, and August 1 to complete the selection of its staff of four, composed of a representative each of the Jewish, Catholic, Negro, and Protestant groups.

The committee did not attempt to define its objectives in the beginning for fear, in part, that it would never get beyond the discussion stage. They preferred, instead, to meet situations as they arose and to let the program pattern emerge out of the needs revealed as they progressed. It was clear from the Mayor's charge to them when the committee was created that he thought primarily of their doing research and analysis of the problems, and that they would make attendant recommendations on what could be done to implement the findings of the research. In the invitation to the members he made it clear that he did not expect it to be a headline committee. However, it became clear before the program had gone far that the public would not let the committee become a research committee solely. It was pointed out by numerous groups that it was appointed because of the emergency situation, and that longer

range problems occasionally had to give precedence to threats of renewed riots, gang outbreaks in interstitial neighborhoods, inadequate educational opportunities, and day-to-day problems of discrimination which arise in the community. It also became clear that there was considerable demand on the time of the staff to advise with groups in the community who represented agencies which were attempting to adjust their own programs to the new demands placed upon them by invasion of minority groups into their neighborhoods. The committee never lost sight of the fact, however, that these incidents and other immediate problems were only symptomatic of the real ills, and that these underlying maladies had scarcely been diagnosed. It was also clear early in the work of the committee that it could not be a programming committee. The fact that it has an assurance of only a two-year lease on life made it imperative that the group seek to stimulate other agencies to adapt their programs to meet needs rather than attempt to develop into another permanent agency trying to operate programs of its own. It was also clear that such a committee could not become a coordinating agency in the community. It was realized that interfaith and interracial interests were not a large enough segment of total community interest to hold the continued attention of the people in the average community. Also, if the best job were to be done in easing these group tensions it would likely come not through the groups of a given community self-consciously facing each other to air their differences, but rather in enlisting the community to work for the welfare of all in seeking for all a better way of life. In this way their differences would be minimized. If the job of total community coordination were done it should logically be the responsibility of the Welfare Council.

It was also apparent that something more would be required than a high-powered publicity program which would tend either to arouse fears when dangers were pointed out, or else to lull people into thinking that something was being done when as a matter of

fact it was not. The Myrdal study had just pointed out that the American people already subscribed to the concept of the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, and that the Constitution makes the basic equality of all men an integral part of the American credo. Yet the behavior of Americans is so far removed from these ideals as abstract verbalizations that he entitled his study *The American Dilemma*. Thus it was plain that the difficulties were those of developing in people habits and attitudes rather than persuading them to accept verbalized symbols which may or may not influence behavior.

The committee soon decided to develop subcommittees that would specialize in these areas of city life: employment, law enforcement and delinquency, housing, education, health, welfare, and recreation. Before long, however, it was apparent that the committee was composed of members who were too busy to spend much time on certain aspects of the program which they alone could do. Consequently, the subcommittee idea soon was abandoned. The pattern which has emerged has been largely that of the staff making investigations, and making reports to the total committee, and the committee in turn making recommendations to the agencies involved. When the Quinn-Ives bill was pending, the committee gave it consideration and finally endorsed it with some minor suggestions and changes. The chairman of the committee made the opening presentation before the commission which was created to draft the bill when they were holding their hearing in New York City. He also led a delegation of citizens from New York City to Albany to interview the Governor in the midst of the fight for the bill in Albany, and it was to this delegation that Governor Dewey made his statement backing the bill. The endorsement of this measure cost the resignation of one member of the committee who thought such a group should not sponsor legislation.

As the program has emerged the following could be listed as areas in which the committee has functioned:

1. The sponsorship of legislation which it thought beneficial to the cause of race relations. This was done in the case of City Council Bill No. 67 which disallows tax exemption of slum-clearance housing if discrimination is practised, and also in the case of the Quinn-Ives bill which defines the right to employment without regard to race, creed, or color as a civil right, and sets up a commission of five to enforce the law. It was also done in that a recommendation was made that a public market be created in West Harlem where the committee's studies showed a woeful dearth of sanitary shopping facilities. This measure is now a part of the capital budget, 1945-1946.

2. Making investigations and recommending action to help resolve tense neighborhood situations. Instances of this sort are those of Coney Island where a synagogue disturbance resulted in a fight between Italian youths and worshippers; in the instance on Staten Island where Negro soldiers were being charged with a crime wave (in this instance Army officials were advised on how to improve the morale of the men), and when it seemed possible that local law-enforcement officials might be inclined to use the incident for political purposes. In this instance, counsel was ultimately secured for two Negro soldiers charged with felonious assault. This interest of a nonpartisan committee was effective in stopping the agitation and quieting the misgivings of the Negro group. In the Manhattan neighborhood of Washington Heights where the daily papers, two days in succession, carried stories that a race war existed in the neighborhood. In this instance, the President of City College was induced to call a meeting of representatives of agencies and the committee worked with and through them in restoring a balance to the neighborhood. In the case of agencies in the Queens Village area of the Borough of Queens where the Christian Front group under the leadership of C. Daniel Kurtz had called an open meeting, a counter meeting was organized at the Andrew Jackson High School and the committee provided a speaker for their program and subsequently took some part in helping the com-

munity organize to meet renewed threats of this sort. Numerous other instances could be cited but it is perhaps unnecessary to go further to indicate their nature.

3. Advising groups and agencies on how to adapt their programs to meet new demands created by racial or religious conflicts. This work has required a considerable portion of staff time, for the community has increasingly come to look to the Mayor's committee as an agency to provide advice and guidance on problems of this kind. Here the selection of the staff representative of the major ethnic groups of the community has paid dividends. There is scarcely a day but that some member of the staff is called upon to meet with some group which is trying to think through its responsibility on problems of human relations. These include public as well as private agencies.

4. Exerting pressure to bring about desired changes in agency program. In this field types of responsibilities undertaken are typified by those of major-league baseball where it was clear that considerable picketing would occur during the summer months unless some positive action were taken to integrate Negroes into the profession. Upon the initiative of the Mayor's Committee on Unity, a special subcommittee was set up by the Mayor to deal with this problem and the formation of the committee was a significant factor in bringing about a reduction of tension in the community and the eventual employment of a Negro in major-league baseball. A second instance is that of a survey of the Board of Transportation in which the committee was taking precautions to make sure that opportunities for conflict over transportation during the summer was held to a minimum. A third instance is that of work with such agencies as the Young Men's Christian Association in improving their programs with regard to Negroes. The latter has been a long-range continuous job.

5. Assist in putting out the little fires of conflict before they reach conflagration proportions. These are the innumerable day-to-day instances of discrimination and evidences of outright preju-

dices held by groups in the community. These run the gamut from breaking of synagogue windows and desecration of church property to fights between children of different races or faiths. Other examples are the overt conflict and discriminatory practices which include refusal to rent dwellings to Jews, refusal to serve Negroes on public accommodations, and other types of tension. In these situations, we have done whatever such an agency could do to help meet the problems. This has been of small significance yet time absorbing so far as the work of the committee was concerned.

6. Conduct research and investigation to get at causes of inter-group differences. This phase of the program is of two kinds: that of conducting hearings, as in the instance of the Benjamin Franklin High School "riot," to determine causes and recommend changes in agency programs to forestall the recurrence of such problems, and, second, research designed to uncover the nature of the more deeply seated prejudices in order to provide an understanding that would be an aid to agencies in making their programs.

This phase of the work is perhaps the most time consuming but in the long range perhaps the most important. It is obvious that the staff of the committee is unable to do a significant portion of such work but the committee has been exceptionally fortunate in securing cooperation of other agencies in the community to help carry out this phase of the program under its direction. A research director was employed who spends his time supervising the researches which are being carried on under the committee's direction in five different communities.

These communities and the type of research program being undertaken are as follows:

a) Coney Island. It was in this section that the synagogue disturbance referred to earlier took place. In this instance we asked the newly formed Commission on Community Interrelations of the American Jewish Congress to undertake a community survey under our direction to aid us in getting an understanding of the long series of chronic anti-Semitic outbreaks in that neighborhood.

The Commission adapted the technique of depth interviewing to the purpose at hand and attempted to get at the structure of group prejudice in the community.

Before this phase of the work was completed, it was clear to us that one of the most significant factors involved in the interfaith conflict was that of delinquency. The conflicts, which were almost invariably interpreted as anti-Semitic, were usually but one phase of conflict in a constellation of delinquency. This feature required a separate and distinct treatment and this organization has provided a full-time worker in the community with the responsibility of attempting to sublimate the activities of these youths into socially acceptable instead of socially unacceptable channels. The remainder of the survey is now nearing completion and recommendations will soon be made by the Mayor's committee with an attempt to develop community organization.

As the problem became defined, it was clear that there was a need for a nonpartisan agency which the community did not then possess, whose responsibility would be that of integrating the forces of the community to achieve common objectives for all. A neighborhood council of the Brooklyn Council for Social Planning is in the making and will no doubt be developed in that neighborhood in the near future. This is only a first step and must be followed by specific recommendations relating to the pooling of the resources possessed by the municipal government itself within the area to make sure that these resources are utilized to the fullest.

b) The second project undertaken was that of a comparative cost-of-living study between an area in the Harlem community and an area outside the community in which the people pay comparable rents, to try to determine what they get for their money. The first phase of this study was that of food costs and was conducted for the committee by the New York Budget Council. The findings of this phase of the study prompted us in recommending to the municipal administration a public market in Harlem where not only could supervision with regard to sanitation and cleanliness

be had but also where some phases of consumer education could be carried on. This recommendation was accepted by the municipal administration and is now part of the budget, 1945-1946. The second phase of the analysis relates to rent and housing and is now nearing completion.

c) The third study undertaken is that of a survey of a coordinating council of the Police Athletic League in Precinct 50 of the Bronx. This project was undertaken at the invitation of the coordinating council itself and was attempted because of the peculiar characteristics of the area. It is one of the few neighborhoods of New York City in which any sizable proportion of white Protestants are to be found in the population and it is an area in which relatively few Negroes are involved. Consequently, it seemed pertinent to study the pattern of attitudes in a somewhat well-off community as well as in the neighborhoods with more deleterious surroundings. This study has involved interviewing a select sample of the adult population and an evaluation of institutions of the neighborhood in order to discover: (1) community needs; (2) awareness of these needs; (3) attitudes impeding intergroup cooperation; (4) institutional resources with which to meet community needs.

The work on this project was done with the voluntary help of graduate students of New York University and some qualified lay people in the community. This project likewise is nearing completion and is providing an exceptional insight into the attitudes of the people of the neighborhood. These attitudes are worked into profiles of the three major groups; that is, Protestant, Catholic, and Jew.

d) An attitudinal survey of the Washington Heights neighborhood. This project is being undertaken in cooperation with the Sociology Department of the College of the City of New York and is being carried out in a community that is characterized by conflicts involving, first, Negroes and whites and, second, Jews and Chris-

tians. This study, like the other two, will provide a comparable body of data on still another community of New York City.

e) An investigation into the practice of institutions of higher learning in New York City to determine their practices with regard to admissions of minority groups. This study is completed and, together with appropriate recommendations, has been submitted to the committee. It will, no doubt, be released by the time this article is published. The facts revealed do not lend too much encouragement to those who look to the institutions of higher education to lead the social process in the correction of prejudice, for there are few institutions where ability and potential capacity to make a contribution are the determining factors in admission. In addition to quotas for minority groups, other concomitant factors such as rising tuition rates, quotas for New York City youth by institutions desiring to become national in their service, refusal to accept students in professional schools unless they are graduates of the *right* colleges, preference on the part of medical schools for sons of alumni, and fear of inability to place graduates in internships if they are not of the right background are peripheral but nevertheless complicating factors in this area of discrimination.

f) The last research study being undertaken is that of the East Bronx where the conflict has been that between Puerto Ricans and Negroes, Negroes and Jews, and Jews and Gentiles. This project is being undertaken in cooperation with honor students from Hunter College who, under the joint supervision of our committee and the Sociology Department of Hunter College, are pulling together a well-defined community profile with particular reference to the responsibility of municipal government in meeting needs in an interstitial area of this kind.

This project will be completed by the end of this academic year and should round out the picture in different types of communities in the city. Altogether, the five studies should make a valuable compendium for the new administration assuming office on Janu-

ary 1 as well as for the agencies, both local and city wide, which operate in these neighborhoods.

In conclusion, certain interpretations perhaps should be made of the function and program of such a committee. It should be pointed out, first, that it is a new departure in municipal government when an administration feels called upon to appoint a committee whose responsibility it is to help give direction to the social process. Second, that such a committee is limited in what it can do both from the standpoint of time and from the standpoint of the extent to which the members will risk their prestige by championing a cause too far. Third, such a committee almost invariably finds itself limited by what it can do in advising a municipal administration. However desirable it might be to have more public housing, better schools, or the other good things of life, there are limits to which a political administration can go and these limits cannot be overstepped. Fourth, it is difficult for such a committee to become a program committee and, in most instances, should be looked upon as a catalyst to bring about desired changes. The effectiveness of its work should be measured by how rapidly it can work itself out of a job. Fifth, such a committee invariably finds itself on the spot since it must assume enormous responsibilities for the development of better relations between groups and at the same time possess little, if any, authority with which to effect changes that would help bring about such harmonious relationships. Altogether, however, it could be said that it is entirely likely that at no time in the foreseeable future will there cease to be a need for such an agency constantly keeping its finger on the pulse of municipal life to detect the rise and fall of group tension, constantly exerting a pressure on the life of the community to bring about more harmonious relations, constantly advising with the press and other media of communication on how to meet the day-to-day problems, and always standing as a symbol of the sincerity of municipal government in its obligations to minority groups.

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FIGHTING PREJUDICE WITH LAW

Elmer A. Carter

On July 1, 1945, the New York State Commission Against Discrimination began the administration and enforcement of the Ives-Quinn Law Against Discrimination. The law which was passed by the New York Legislature and signed by Governor Thomas E. Dewey in the spring of 1945 was the subject of great controversy and spirited debate in the Assembly and the Senate and widespread editorial comment in the press of the State and the Nation. The opposition to its provisions, designed particularly to eliminate discrimination in employment because of race, creed, color, or national origin, was stubborn, if not bitter. In the ranks of this opposition were nationally known individuals with distinguished records as liberals who saw in this attempt to limit the expression of racial and religious prejudices in employment a quixotic excursion into the realm of idealistic legislation. Proponents of the measure likewise included outstanding individuals in social work, education, the Catholic and Protestant churches, organized labor, and those minority groups whom the law directly affected.

During the legislative struggle for the passage of the Ives-Quinn bill in New York State, efforts to pass similar legislation designed to achieve the same ends were being made in twenty-one other States. And in the larger legislative arena of the Federal Government the Fair Employment Practice Committee was fighting a losing battle for survival. In every State save New Jersey, Wisconsin, and New York the efforts of those who sought to eliminate discrimination in employment because of race, creed, color, and national origin through legislation failed. And the Fair Employment Practice Committee now is in the process of disintegration.

Without any attempt at comparative analysis of the statutes that were passed in the other two States, there appears to be general agreement that the New York statute, the Ives-Quinn Law, is the most severe in its penalties for violation and most comprehensive in scope.

The opposition to its passage was formidable and it is not conceivable that it could have weathered the storm of protest from powerful industrial and commercial groups, even though it was fiercely defended by Negro and Jew and Catholic and foreign born, had it not been for the parliamentary skill of Assemblyman Ives and the tenacity and courage of Governor Thomas E. Dewey.

This is not to say that the law was steam-rollered. It was in every respect a bipartisan measure. And every opportunity was afforded the citizenry of the State to express its opinion regarding the desirability and urgency of such a law. Open hearings in which individuals and organizations were invited to participate were held in the centers of urban population, in Buffalo, Rochester, Syracuse, Albany, and New York City. It is worthy of note that the overwhelming majority of those who attended the hearings were in favor of the passage of the law.

When the time came for the law to become effective there were considerable misgivings. Many employers were of the opinion that the Commission created by the law and armed with such power of enforcement as the law provides would begin to bludgeon the employer into compliance by the insistence that his personnel, regardless of qualifications, reflect the various minority groups forthwith. Others were disturbed lest the Commission, in its efforts to remove restrictions in employment, provoke greater racial and religious antipathy, particularly at a time when the level of unemployment was constantly rising as a result of the cessation of hostilities.

The law has now been in operation for six months, too brief a time to form a final judgment about its efficacy as an instrument to accomplish its broad purposes, but not insufficient to formulate an opinion from the Commission's experience that the problem of discrimination in employment can most effectively be met by legislation.

There has come to the Commission impressive and gratifying

evidence of the desire of a great many employers voluntarily to comply with the law. On their own initiative, many of these have changed their employment practices since the law became effective, July 1. Outstanding examples of this may be found among the great department stores of the City of New York, the financial institutions, and a considerable number of industrial and commercial organizations.

The administration and enforcement of the New York Law Against Discrimination are lodged in a Commission composed of five members appointed by the Governor. The language of the first section of the law, which might be termed the preamble, states the purposes of the law as follows:

This article shall be known as the "Law Against Discrimination." It shall be deemed an exercise of the police power of the state for the protection of the public welfare, health and peace of the people of this state, and in fulfillment of the provisions of the constitution of this state concerning civil rights; and the legislature hereby finds and declares that practices of discrimination against any of its inhabitants because of race, creed, color or national origin are a matter of state concern, that such discrimination threatens not only the rights and proper privileges of its inhabitants but menaces the institutions and foundation of a free democratic state. A state agency is hereby created with power to eliminate and prevent discrimination in employment because of race, creed, color or national origin, either by employers, labor organizations, employment agencies or other persons, and to take other actions against discrimination because of race, creed, color or national origin, as herein provided; and the commission established hereunder is hereby given general jurisdiction and power for such purposes.

The scope of the law is clearly revealed in this section. Primarily it deals with discrimination in employment and it is from this discrimination that the penalties for violation of its provisions flow. But the Commission is empowered to investigate discrimination because of race, creed, color, or national origin in all or specific fields of human relationship through the organization of advisory

agencies and conciliation councils, local, regional, or State-wide.

It was evidently the intention of the framers of this act to place the widespread practice of discrimination in employment because of race, creed, color, or national origin not only in the realm of a violation of democratic ideals but of violation of law. Thus it was declared in Section 126 of the act that "The opportunity to obtain employment without discrimination because of race, creed, color or national origin is hereby recognized as and declared to be a civil right." When first proposed, this appeared to many to be a revolutionary conception of civil rights. But it logically follows an addition to the Bill of Rights dealing with discrimination which was recommended in 1938 by the Constitutional Convention and subsequently adopted by the voters of the State of New York. This addition, Article I, Paragraph 11, of the Bill of Rights reads:

No person shall be denied the equal protection of the laws of this state or any subdivision thereof. No person shall, because of race, color, creed or religion, be subjected to any discrimination in his civil rights by any other person or by any firm, corporation, or institution, or by the state or any agency or subdivision of the state.

It is this declaration that is really revolutionary, for it cannot be found in the constitution of any other State or in the Constitution of the Federal Government.

The procedure which the Commission follows upon complaint of discrimination in employment because of race, color, creed, or national origin is set forth in the statute itself. The law declares that:

It shall be an unlawful employment practice:

1. For an employer, because of the race, creed, color or national origin of any individual, to refuse to hire or employ or to bar or to discharge from employment such individual or to discriminate against such individual in compensation or in terms, conditions or privileges of employment.
2. For a labor organization, because of the race, creed, color or national origin of any individual, to exclude or to expel from its membership

such individual or to discriminate in any way against any of its members or against any employer or any individual employed by an employer.

3. For any employer or employment agency to print or circulate or cause to be printed or circulated any statement, advertisement or publication, or to use any form of application for employment or to make any inquiry in connection with prospective employment, which expresses, directly or indirectly, any limitation, specification or discrimination as to race, creed, color or national origin, or any intent to make any such limitation, specification or discrimination, unless based upon a bona fide occupational qualification.

The complaint alleging unlawful employment practice must be verified and in writing. It must state the name and address of the person, employer, labor organization, or employment agency alleged to have committed the unlawful practice complained of, and contain such other information as the Commission requires. In addition to the aggrieved person, the Industrial Commissioner or the Attorney General may likewise file a complaint.

Once the complaint is filed, it is mandatory that the Chairman of the Commission shall designate one of the five commissioners to make, with the assistance of the Commission staff, prompt investigation of the complaint, and if the commissioner charged with the investigation determines that probable cause exists for the complaint, he must proceed to attempt to eliminate the unlawful employment practice by conference, conciliation, and persuasion.

It is only when these three steps fail to eliminate the unlawful employment practice that the case is brought to a hearing. The necessity of proceeding through the channels of conciliation prevents precipitate action, serves to reduce emotional tensions, and gives the employer an opportunity either to disprove the allegation or to adjust his employment practices into compliance with the law.

The experience of the Commission thus far has demonstrated the wisdom of this procedure. Although the Commission has received upwards of two hundred complaints, not one case has been set down

for hearing. Where investigation has disclosed probable cause for the complaint, conciliation has proved adequate to eliminate the unlawful employment practice. Careful investigation has resulted in many instances of dismissal for lack of probable cause, after searching examination of the employment practice has failed to support the allegation in the complaint.

The Commission recognizes that the number of complaints filed is not a true index of the extent of discrimination in employment in New York State. It does not intend merely to wait on the filing of complaints in order to carry out the purposes of the law. It contemplates investigation and vigorous action with all of the resources at its command in order to eliminate undemocratic employment practices which serve to deprive Americans of the chance to work according to their aspirations and capabilities, because of the color of their skins, or their race or creed or national origin.

The Commission is proceeding cautiously, realizing that this is a new statute in a sensitive area of human relations. But it is proceeding steadily toward the attainment of the ends sought by the statute.

In order to reach discrimination in employment at its source, that is, at the point of hiring, the Commission has examined hundreds of employment application forms which have been submitted by employers. It has ruled that all interrogations pertaining to the race, creed, color, or national origin of the applicant and the progressive steps of naturalization on these employment application forms are unlawful employment practices. It has ordered the removal of inquiries such as place of birth, addresses of relatives, complexion, and has held that the request for a photograph of the applicant must likewise be omitted from these forms. On the other hand, the Commission has held that the question, "Are you a citizen?", may be asked and up to this time has permitted inquiry regarding the citizenship of the applicant's parents. The rulings of the Commission are not unalterable and inflexible. Where experience indicates that these rulings serve only to place an un-

necessary burden on the employer in the recruitment of efficient personnel, the Commission will entertain petitions for their revision. By the same token, where these rulings appear to permit evasion on the part of the employer, they will be tightened.

The law, however, is explicit on the terms in which exception may be granted. Section 131.3 is the source of the Commission's rulings in so far as they pertain to the employment application form (*see above*).

In order to claim an exception to any of these rulings, it is obviously necessary to establish the fact that the exception is based upon a bona fide occupational qualification. The Commission has been loathe to grant exceptions and has been able, through conference with employer groups, to achieve willing acceptance of its rulings on the part of the vast majority. In the few cases where the imposition of the rulings have been resisted, and they are very few, the Commission is confident that experience will demonstrate that these interrogations are not necessary for the selection of efficient personnel.

Those who framed this legislation realized that a program of education was necessary if the law was ultimately to achieve its purpose. And the Commission is now planning to embark on such a program, utilizing all of the media for public education which experience has found effective.

The Commission conceives as its responsibility the task of bringing to practical realization the ideals of democracy by the creation of good will and cooperation between the various groups which make up the citizenry of the State of New York. To neglect education in this effort is finally to invite failure.

And, therefore, education, formal and informal, through the public and parochial schools and colleges, community organizations, and councils established pursuant to the law will constitute an important and vital part of the work of the Commission.

Up to this time the fearful prophecies in which a large section

of the industrial community indulged concerning the dire results that would follow the enactment of the Law Against Discrimination have not been realized. There is every indication that this statute will be the most effective step toward the elimination of discrimination because of race or color or creed or national origin that has ever been taken by the citizens of New York State.

Elmer A. Carter is Commissioner of the State Commission Against Discrimination in New York State.

MASSACHUSETTS' GOVERNOR'S COMMITTEE

Isabel Currier

The appointment of the Massachusetts Governor's Committee for Racial and Religious Understanding had the effect, from the first day of its creation, of educating an indifferent citizenry in the fundamental fact that intercultural tension was high in Massachusetts.

Prior to November 1943, it was as indelicate to hint that active and passive prejudice was disrupting the society of the Commonwealth as it would have been to intimate that some one should interfere in the marital troubles which any socially elect couple might try to keep to themselves. Despite the efforts of some distinguished citizens to concern the public with the problem, the average person reacted both to rumors and recorded incidents of violent prejudice with a seemingly unimpregnable combination of discomfort, indifference, indignant denial, and behind-the-hand attitude of "it's-none-of-my-business-and-besides-there's-never-smoke-without-a-flame." The newspaper *PM* printed an exposé of anti-Semitic beatings in Greater Boston late in October. The stories created a flurry of denial; even ex-Governor Leverett Saltonstall at first labeled them as lies. A few days later, in view of the evidence, he honorably retracted his hasty judgment and created the Governor's Committee for Racial and Religious Understanding "... to ... advise me in ... dealing with the causes of any infringement of personal or religious liberty."¹

Ex-Governor Saltonstall selected his committee largely (and

¹ Function of the Governor's committee as stated when commissioned: "Creation of a committee to draw up and advise me in the execution of an over-all program for dealing with the causes of any infringement of personal or religious liberty. This is a problem which must be the concern of civic bodies, churches, and synagogues, unions, patriotic societies, service clubs, schools and educational institutions, parent-teacher associations, and particularly fathers and mothers. There should be a guiding and stimulating agency for their activities. I have asked this committee to serve in such a capacity so that we may bring home to all of our citizens as forcibly as possible the necessity of living in peace and harmony with one another and may stimulate to this end."

wisely) from among the solidly conservative leaders of our four leading racial and religious groups.³ Automatically, intercultural unity became a respectable social objective instead of a wild demand from "those alarmists who are always stirring up trouble."

If ex-Governor Saltonstall had named a preponderance of equally prominent so-called liberals, as he might easily have done, it is my opinion that the Governor's committee might have had less weight from the start as a symbol of directed social change. I mean no disrespect nor implied criticism of individual members of the Governor's committee when I add that the selection of cautious-minded men to guide and stimulate everyday democracy had the effect of making those groups least exposed to disruptive forces the first to be aware of them. In effect, a new social order was placed as a responsibility and a trust into the hands of leaders of the old social order, thereby moving racial and religious understanding, in one fell swoop, over the shortest distance between two points.

This abstract propelling force toward broad intercultural education has not been all enveloping. It got in its own way to create limitations which, however speculative and unmeasurable as a premise for estimating the Governor's committee, seem to me to be of first importance. Far too many citizens (and officials) seem to believe that, since the Commonwealth has a Governor's Committee for Racial and Religious Understanding, that impressive fact alone should enable others to let the unpleasant subject of intercultural unity rest with the committee.

This state of mind, existing like scattered chaff among the populace, is a limitation to the work of the Governor's committee in two ways. First, it is unfortunately shared by some legislators whose responsibility is to create a budget for the fulfillment of the

³ The members of the Governor's Committee, appointed on November 9, 1943, are: Julius E. Warren, Massachusetts Commissioner of Education, chairman; Thomas H. Carens, vice-chairman; Wilman E. Adams; Rt. Rev. Monsignor Robert P. Barry; Judge A. K. Cohen; Charles C. Dasey; Rev. William N. DeBerry; Judge Jacob J. Kaplan; Rabbi Joshua L. Liebman; Rt. Rev. Henry Knox Sherrill. The office of the Committee is at 200 Newbury Street, Boston.

committee's program. The committee itself consists of professional men acting as a directive and advisory body. Its full-time work is performed by the brilliant, diplomatic, and tireless executive secretary, Mrs. Mildred H. Mahoney, with the aid only of one stenographer. The Governor's committee cannot expand its staff without a budget which authorizes expansion, since it is not allowed to accept the services of volunteer workers, however well trained.

Second, many citizens (and officials) who loll in the quicksand of false comfort because they have a Governor's Committee for Racial and Religious Understanding are under the erroneous impression that the committee is a sort of specially commissioned penal body. The fact is that it has no absolute authority; it cannot penalize outrages of an intercultural nature, nor would it be desirable for it to have such power. It is a semiofficial educational body, and a temporary one at that, subject to reappointment or dissolution as the Governor of the Commonwealth sees fit. His Excellency, Governor Maurice J. Tobin, sees eye to eye with ex-Governor Saltonstall on the necessity for such a committee. He has wholeheartedly retained and cooperated with it and undoubtedly will continue to do so. Nevertheless, if key citizens of the Commonwealth fail to aid actively in the work of the Governor's Committee for Racial and Religious Understanding, there is always a remote possibility that future candidates for governor might discard it as an outmoded political decoration.

The impressive accomplishments of the Governor's committee during its two years of life illustrate how vital and productive the cooperation of civic agencies can be in furthering racial and religious understanding.

The Governor's committee approaches intercultural education through existing agencies, particularly the schools and police forces, and its function is not to direct but to nudge these agencies into action. The cooperation of the police has resulted in the Committee's most effective work so far.

Committee member Rabbi Joshua L. Liebman is credited with the idea of enlisting police officials to study the causes, symptoms, and preventive measures of tensions and riots of a racial or religious nature. Commissioner John F. Stokes of the Department of Public Safety readily cooperated in producing a Bulletin for Police Administrators, issued early in 1944 and widely distributed, together with a brochure of laws relating to the maintenance of civil order, already on the statutes of the Commonwealth.

To supplement the bulletin a course was developed, under the direction of Dr. Gordon W. Allport of Harvard's Department of Psychology. The course, entitled "The Police and Minority Groups," was proposed at a meeting assembled by Commissioner Thomas Sullivan of the Boston police.⁸ All captains of the Boston police force, together with high-ranking officials of the Boston, metropolitan district, and Cambridge police, enthusiastically attended the course given at Boston Police Headquarters in the autumn of 1944. The course has since been given to all officers in these three departments of police and its influence has been far-flung.

The American Council on Race Relations held a conference in Chicago in February 1944 on the training of policemen in the field of minority problems. Professor Gordon Allport and Deputy Superintendent Thomas S. J. Kavanaugh of the Boston police prepared a tentative manual for the instruction of police officers and recruits, which they presented to the Chicago Conference. It voted to use the manual as a basis for a standard national textbook to serve all interested police departments. Present at the conference were officials from the police departments of California, Cincinnati, Detroit, and Chicago.

⁸ Material for the course "The Police and Minority Groups" was prepared by the following committee: Dr. Gordon W. Allport, Department of Psychology, Harvard University; Miss Dorothy L. Book, Dean, Boston University School of Social Work; Superintendent Henry R. Hayes of the Metropolitan District Police; Deputy Superintendent Thomas S. J. Kavanaugh of the Boston Police; Lieutenant Thomas Stokes of the Cambridge Police; Mr. Thomas Turley, Associate Head Worker, South End House, Boston; Mrs. Mildred H. Mahoney, Executive Secretary, Governor's Committee.

It was originally planned that the officers who had benefit of the first course in the Police and Minority Groups should act as instructors to all patrolmen on the force. This past autumn a fellowship at Harvard University was arranged for a Boston patrolman on the basis of full salary and tuition for one year. The patrolman selected for this graduate work is Leonard T. Avery, Holy Cross 1935, who is conducting classes for Boston patrolmen in "The Police and Minority Groups" as his own studies progress.

The Manual for Police Training on that subject, bearing the official stamp of the Boston Police Department, has been widely circulated by the Governor's committee, including its presentation to a conference of sixty Massachusetts police chiefs this past fall.

Work with Schools

The 212 superintendents of schools in Massachusetts were also quick to cooperate with the Governor's committee in launching a broad program of intercultural education. The Governor's committee sponsored a conference on "Bettering Racial and Religious Understanding *Through Education*" which was held at Bridgewater in April 1944 and attended by all superintendents of schools in the Commonwealth.

Ten discussion groups were held with enthusiastic participation by all superintendents. The reports of the discussion groups were made up during the summer and published under three headings: (1) the nature and scope of intercultural education; (2) the relationship of the community to the problem; and (3) the relationship of the schools to the problem. The demand for this report far exceeded the supply of 2,000 copies, which were delayed in distribution due to printing difficulties.

At the Bridgewater Conference, superintendents frequently remarked that they wished their teachers might have training in the practices and procedures of intercultural education that have worked out effectively in other communities. As an outgrowth of

this widely expressed need, the Governor's committee cooperated in the organization of courses in intercultural education which were held during the past two summers at Boston University, Harvard University, and Wellesley. At Boston University experienced teachers of intercultural education prepared themselves, under Professor John J. Mahoney to become teachers of teachers.⁴ Several members of this group teach courses offered by the Division of University Extension, State Department of Education.

So far, only three of the 212 school systems of the Commonwealth (those at Chicopee, Pittsfield, and North Andover) have availed themselves of the University Extension courses. However, a questionnaire sent to all superintendents this year brought reports that 56 school systems had made a start in intercultural education during the past year. Ten of these 56 represented tentative over-all programs; others indicated efforts of varying scope.

In January a combination radio and University Extension course in intercultural education will be offered, through the efforts of a committee of ten presidents of school superintendents and a subcommittee of the Governor's committee. The first half of the course will consist of a series of background lectures on intercultural education, to be broadcast over WBZ, a National Broadcasting Company station. The second half of the course will be field instruction in methods, conducted by teachers under University Extension, State Department of Education.

Some of the most encouraging accomplishments in intercultural education in Massachusetts may be found in individual classrooms. Many cities and towns, which have not made any special effort to gear the whole school system to this vital program, contain indi-

⁴Professor John J. Mahoney is a pioneer in the field of intercultural education. He first developed a course for teachers, variously called "Education for Democracy" or "School and Society" in 1922 and has expanded it in continuous teaching since that time. Professor Mahoney's book *For Us The Living* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1945) presents his well-digested philosophy of creative citizenship, together with provedly effective methods of intercultural education for teachers of all subjects.

vidual teachers who make their own classrooms a constant proving ground of broad and effective programs.

Community Relations Committees

One of the difficulties besetting school systems in which a program of intercultural education might be inaugurated is the fact that individual communities may be uncooperative or, which is equally as bad, not cooperative. To pave the way for intercultural education in the schools, therefore, the Governor's committee welcomes the help of groups of citizens who might form into Community Relations Committees and aid the promotion of racial and religious understanding by distributing literature, securing speakers, consult with school officials, reporting evidences of tension, etc.

Thirty-seven such organizations throughout the State had met with the Governor's committee in September 1944, at which time a Newsletter to serve as a clearinghouse on matters related to intercultural education was inaugurated. The contributors to the Governor's committee's Newsletter now number 52 organizations, but comparatively few of them meet the definition of a Community Relations Committee, "a group that, as a minimum includes Catholic, Protestant, Jewish, and Negro representatives and whose avowed purpose is to work for the bettering of racial and religious understanding."

Only four groups in the State had such a purpose and such a representative cross-section membership before the Governor's committee was created. In the past two years four others have organized after consultation with the Governor's committee, and two more are in the process of organization.*

* Antedating the Governor's committee were the Springfield Adult Education Council; the Worcester Interracial Friendship Council; the Good Neighbor Association of Dorchester, Mattapan, and Hyde Park; and the Cambridge Community Relations Committee. With the cooperation of the Governor's committee, new organizations already formed are: the Greater Boston Community Relations Committee; the Malden Committee for Racial and Religious Understanding; the Pittsfield Community Relations Committee; the Race Relations Committee of the Roxbury Neighborhood Council. Committees in Brooklyn and Lynn are in process of organization.

I might state again, for emphasis, that if the Governor's committee had the budget and personnel to permit State-wide field work, more community-relations committees might be speedily organized. So far, the Governor's committee has been obliged to allow the initiative for such organizations to come from communities and then to cooperate in the formation of the group. However, in the Governor's committee's last report, two other types of approach were wistfully suggested as an aid to organizing more community-relations committees. The second method mentioned is "to go into local communities and stimulate groups of citizens and organize community relations committees."

The third type of approach suggested is "to have an invitation sent to mayors and chairmen of selectmen to organize community relations committees following the pattern of the Governor's committee. This invitation might be issued by (a) the governor; (b) the governor's committee."

The report adds that, while the Governor's committee stands ready to help in planning a program, providing materials and speakers in any instance, the third plan offers two important advantages. Appointment of a community relations committee by a mayor or a board of selectmen would give the committee the official prestige which the Governor's committee enjoys; and such a committee's nature would be defined, from the start, as purely civic.

The Governor's committee has a list of fifty speakers, any of whom are available to any group in any community without charge. Its other regular services include supplying bibliographies, sample materials, and a monthly Newsletter.

Last March the Governor's committee, represented by Judge A. K. Cohen, officially endorsed a proposed State F.E.P.C. law at the legislative hearing weighing such a measure. In making his endorsement, Judge Cohen also offered five specific proposals to be incorporated into any F.E.P.C. law.

The Governor's committee has several active subcommittees,

notably the Planning committee, which confers with labor, industry, department-store executives, and economists on employment problems of minority groups. It also cooperates with the Massachusetts Committee of Catholics, Protestants and Jews on (1) scholarships for teachers taking the summer Institute on Education for Democracy at Boston University School of Education; (2) luncheon meetings for college students; (3) distribution of good-will posters.

The Committee on Action for Churches and Synagogues prepares material, with the help of a committee of educational experts, to be used in religious schools.

There are also subcommittees whose duties are described in their titles: the Committee on Subversive Literature and the Finance Committee.

Members of the Governor's committee and particularly its executive secretary, Mrs. Mahoney, hold countless conferences with individuals and with groups and give addresses whenever and wherever they are asked to do so.

Since it was organized at a time of acute tension one of the Governor's committee's important functions has been the study of and action upon incidents of tension and conflict reported to it. In this endeavor, as in all others, the Governor's committee must have the cooperation of other citizens. Investigation, action, or recommendation of action concerning specific transgressions against personal or religious liberty cannot be undertaken without invitation to do so.

By and large, the Massachusetts Governor's Committee for Racial and Religious Understanding is and has been an exemplary force for the furtherance of intercultural education. Its personnel and its accomplishments do honor to the Commonwealth, to ex-Governor Saltonstall who created it, and to Governor Maurice Tobin who aids its programs with every resource at his command.

Isabel Currier is Vice-Chairman of the Frances Sweeney Committee which is affiliated with the Friends of Democracy, Incorporated.

CLINICAL METHODS IN INTERRACIAL AND INTERCULTURAL RELATIONS

George Edmund Haynes

In a war-surviving world, dazed and groggy from lightning-jet fighter planes, superfortresses, radar, and atomic bombs, it is difficult for most of us to take a balanced, dispassionate view of racial and cultural relations. But, since modern means of communication have made our world a narrow neighborhood, civilization can only survive by placing the contacts of races, classes, and nations upon a reasonable, brotherly basis.

These contacts are grounded in everyday relations. Race relations are everyday contacts of people of different physical and social inheritance in their places of work, their churches, synagogues, mosques, schools, homes, on the street, and in their social and civic organizations. Intercultural relations are everyday contacts of people whose attitudes and behavior patterns have been conditioned by different religious beliefs, by family habits, by various ways of doing things. Problems of major adjustment between individuals and groups are created by these contacts. Jews and Gentiles misunderstand because of different religious beliefs. Negro and white Americans have problems out of past attitudes and practices. Chinese eating rice with chopsticks and Americans or Britishers eating beef with knives and forks display habits which necessitate more understanding and good will on the part of the community which eats with some other device—or cultural disharmony exists.

Dominant forces in our civilized society, if not in the so-called "uncivilized" societies, are the beliefs, the attitudes, the mores that control behavior. These are mental forces; they are moral; they are religious. They apply to people—individuals and groups.

People who have failed to achieve certain desires or goals become frustrated. Instead of accepting their failure or discovering some weakness or mistake in their own effort they seek scapegoats to

compensate for their frustration. Those who feel insecure in attained status have similar reactions. The Ku Klux Klan at both times of its power following war is an example. During the recent war there was a large migration to the cities of the Pacific Coast for war work, the majority of them whites and Negroes from the Southwest. With the end of the war boom the older residents, mainly wage earners, fear that the newcomers, especially Negroes and Mexicans, will remain and compete for jobs that will decrease. Out of these fears come the frustration and feelings that give rise to hostile action. Any one who looks at the history of Europe for the past twenty-five years will find other illustrations: For example, many who saw Hitler and his handful of Nazis parading the streets of Munich were amused. But through the Nazis mass hatred was spread; now the German people and the world know it was no laughing matter.

How can we meet these problems and cure these mental phobias, which are more contagious than physical diseases? By clinical methods: by steps toward eradicating the mental ills of fear, suspicion, stereotyped ideas about other peoples and cultures—through the application of confidence, understanding, and good will across racial and cultural lines, which produce *mental health*.

Interracial or Intercultural Clinics Deal with Community Situations

In the local community, clinical methods aim to enlighten and orient those who have to meet local problems, to enable them through face-to-face analysis of the situation to reach a consensus of judgment on *what to do and how to do it*.

First, the local leaders whose interests are involved are encouraged to face the facts. Facts about local employment, housing, schools, religious barriers, leisure-time or other situations involving diverse groups. Often some history of the forces that led up to the present tension is required to answer not only the question, "What is it?" but also the other more pertinent one, "How did it come to be?"

With these facts in hand, those concerned can make an analysis, a "diagnosis," of the tensions and conflicts of given local problems as a basis for deciding what can be done and the way to go about it.

In passing, one point on the gathering of the facts should be emphasized: The case method should be the basic procedure. Particular local situations become the case material rather than generalities about the problems over larger areas. The situation, of course, should be typical as tested by comparison with similar situations elsewhere and by the use of the statistical average or the modes. For example, to understand the problem of discrimination in employment of Negroes in a given situation, the average proportion or change in proportion of Negroes in certain occupations of the community or of a wider area is valuable for testing the typical character of cases in the situation under review. There is danger in thinking in averages or about employment discrimination in general that the particular type or situation with which the local leaders have to deal in terms of the individual worker and his family may be overlooked. The social scientist and social and religious worker must analyze and treat concrete local problems in the light of broadly scientific backgrounds.

These forces do not come to focus on a state or national level nor on an international level, but in the everyday relationships; in the neighborhoods and communities where people live and work. If we are to find remedies for these mental-social ills, then we must study the facts in everyday living of individuals and groups.

The Clinical Approach has Both Scientific and Religious Bases

The clinical approach has both scientific and religious foundations. Our civilization has both a material-physical and a mental-moral-spiritual basis. During the past three hundred years the advance of physical science and the development of mechanical inventions have made us so conscious of our physical environment that we have been inclined to think that is the conclusion of the whole

matter. Even many of our religious leaders have given this line of thought the right of way. Karl Marx has so affected our thinking by his use of the Hegelian dialectic that we have been largely dominated by his materialistic interpretation of life and history.

It is true that men and women struggle for jobs as wage earners, for property as home owners or business enterprisers. Many of them mistake wealth for the substance of life. They think they can live by bread alone. People are also voters and office holders; they struggle for power. They will sacrifice the last vestige of wealth to gain power over their fellows. They are also residents and live in local neighborhoods and have families and homes. Children, young people, and adults have various ambitions for personal advancement among their neighbors through various means of education. They aspire for aesthetic and intellectual satisfaction. All of us are related to some common instruments of government for social order. And all must find some means of harmony between the lowly round of our limited lives and the great Spiritual Head that created and guides our destiny and the Universe.

We can see these different drives and desires manifested in every one of our daily relations in the local community. We may classify them into the economic, the political, the intellectual-aesthetic and the humanitarian-religious. Wise and learned students of society realize that, down through history, men and women have striven and sacrificed and lived often as much for the humanitarian-religious as for the economic. Moral and religious desires and aspirations have been powerful forces in every civilization since the dawn of history. These drives and desires have given rise to movements, organizations, and institutions—political and economic institutions. Educational and religious institutions, organizations, and movements have arisen through which all social life is permeated more or less, at least on the higher levels, with spiritual and ethical values for personality growth and social behavior.

This is what religion has been saying through the centuries.

Religious leaders were the first social scientists. They were emphasizing the fact of man's social and moral nature. Religionists have sought through knowledge, wisdom and revelation to apply the dynamic of the inner, emotional, personal growth to social life. "The Kingdom of Heaven is within you," said Jesus Christ. He taught men to pray: "Thy Kingdom come. Thy will be done on earth as it is in Heaven."

World War Tensions and Conflicts Require Clinical Strategy

The period of World War I and the years immediately following saw widespread racial tensions, riots, and mobs in the United States. During World War II these conflicts showed a similar trend, with the difference that a wave of interracial efforts for prevention followed the first outbreaks in 1943. Dr. Charles S. Johnson states that well over 200 local, State, and national organizations have been established since the Detroit riot that year.¹ Between the two wars the religious and social organizations developed a nationwide structure of local, State, and national movements for interracial and intercultural improvement. These resources were not widely developed during and just after World War I. There is, therefore, greater probability of success in preventing and resolving many of the tensions and conflicts if we have the wisdom and the courage vigorously to undertake the job.

A new strategy to meet the greater stresses of the postwar period has been developing in both public and private agencies. There was widespread development of mayor's committees for civic unity. They were hurriedly set up in many communities following riots during the recent war. There are now sixteen national Protestant church bodies in the United States which have developed some form of social action with organizations with more or less definite plans to deal with racial tensions and conflicts. Under the leader-

¹ Introduction to Directory of Agencies in Race Relations (Chicago: Julius Rosenwald Fund, 1945).

ship of the Department of Race Relations of the Federal Council of Churches, which has affiliated with it 135 city and 35 State councils with paid executives during 1944-1945, a well-worked-out plan for interracial clinics has been carried out in seventeen cities of Indiana, Illinois, New Jersey, Michigan, Ohio; Portland, Oregon; and Seattle, Washington.

Upon the initiative of a local church council or ministerial association, a planning committee of leaders of the religious, labor, business, social work, and civic agencies with cooperation of branches of the city government was set up by organizations interested in sponsoring the project. Weeks in advance of holding the clinic a community self-survey was made to collate the facts for an analysis of such local problems as racial discrimination in employment, in health facilities, in public and private housing provisions, etc. Community resources in public and private agencies available were also surveyed.

Leaders from many interested groups representing all phases of the organized life of the community attended the clinics, which lasted one or two days. In plenary sessions the factual case reports on the problems were presented. The clinic then divided into small face-to-face sections for discussion and decision on what to do. This brought closely together the leaders of the various groups representing the interested parties: religious, social work, business, labor—white, Negro, Japanese-American, Mexican-American, Filipinos, Chinese-American—for face-to-face consultation. In many of the cities these interested parties met for the first time to attempt some agreement. There was developed willingness to understand the other point of view and to find a common ground of mutual interest for the community's welfare. They looked at their problems from the standpoint of the whole community and its unity and not simply from the angle of one group.

This is difficult, because there are those who refuse to meet people of other racial groups who have opposite attitudes and views. Some

groups feared for their particular status or interests. Some desired to impose their attitudes and views on others. It often happens in discussion of race relations that opinions and prejudices instead of facts are used and too much heat and too little light are generated.

One unique feature of the interracial clinic has been the absence of speeches from leaders to tell the others what to think. Consultants with wide knowledge and experience in such matters gave counsel and advice but left those who participated to do their own thinking and to make their own decisions. Oratory was ruled out.

There were, of course, different psychological conditionings of the members who faced each other in the clinics. They came from groups with different backgrounds of education, wealth and experience. Some of them represented newcomers who have recently moved into the community from other places and who now faced older residents. Through such face-to-face conversational discussion they did find a common basis of agreement or consensus of judgment on different points. Each small sectional group had a reporter who recorded their decisions and reported them to a summary committee that collated the various points into a whole which was voted upon by all in a closing plenary session.

The interracial clinic does not try to solve the race problem for the whole community or for the nation or for all time. It does try to deal with concrete issues or situations in the local community and to work out a limited program of action for a year or longer. In several cases clinics voted to meet again in a few months to check up on the lines of action they had laid out.

Finally, the interracial clinics did secure action from the regular organizations and agencies of the community that express its group life, such as churches, schools, labor and business organizations, and the city government, in line with the sound sociological fact that only thus can fundamental social changes be achieved. Some central coordinating and clearance committee usually was set up to implement the program unless such an agency already existed

and was accepted by the regular organizations and agencies of the community.

A few examples of results of these clinics held in 1944-1945 are all that space permits.

Evansville, Indiana, adopted the following program after the clinic there in February 1944:

Believing that the strength of American democracy depends upon the good will and unity existing in the individual community and that this unity is jeopardized so long as misunderstanding exists between racial groups, the Evansville Interracial Commission presents this Statement of Policy and program intended to strengthen the community structure:

The Commission firmly believes that interracial problems involve the welfare of the whole community, not merely a segment of it. It seeks

To promote improved relations between the races through mutual discussion of common problems;

To dispel misconceptions and prejudices based on racial differences;

To open the channels of opportunity and recognition as individual talents merit;

To seek better health, recreation, training facilities, and employment opportunities for minority races where these facilities and opportunities are below the general standard of the community;

To encourage the sense of responsibility of minority groups toward the obligation of citizenship and toward community problems.

The Interracial Commission does not anticipate achievement of this program in a day, a month, or a year. It does seek a steady improvement in existing conditions.

The Evansville Interracial Commission followed its words with action. As of June 30, 1945, paid individual and group memberships were more than 450, drawn from the churches, social work, labor, business, and civic agencies. An executive secretary employed since February 1945 has directed several lines of work to implement the program. They held a second Clinic on employment and returning war personnel, November 1945.

Trenton, N. J., formed its Committee on Unity following its interracial clinic September 1944. Its semiannual report tells the story in part:

We believe the outstanding need is education. We must awaken the community to the problems of minority groups and the need for our Committee. . . . It requires a variety of approaches, much time and effort and a great deal of man power. Stamping envelopes, writing publicity, typing, giving a speech, soliciting members or doing research—every job is indispensable to our purpose—to promote in all possible ways the best relationship between races, between minority groups, and between those of different religious faiths in our community.

The report states further that a memorandum on policy about assignment of Negro children and teachers in the public schools has been presented to the Board of Education; about adjustment of cases of job discrimination, encouragement of public and private housing enterprises, and a general community educational campaign through newspapers, radio, movies, literature, speakers' bureaus, churches, and schools. The membership of the committee was built up in eight months to 885 members, 48 of them organizational memberships. They raised locally and spent a budget of about \$2,426.

Michigan: To face probable tensions following the Detroit riots, clinics were held in seven other cities of Michigan under auspices of the Michigan Council of Churches' Committee on Race Relations during February and March 1945. The reported results seven months later include a three-day institute with workshop techniques to coach leaders from these and other Michigan cities.

Ann Arbor enlarged the clinic committee as a nucleus for an interracial council; *Albion* set up an interracial committee to carry out conclusions of the clinic; *Jackson* set up a committee and launched a city-wide housing program; *Flint* started a permanent interracial committee to implement the program; *Lansing* developed a city-wide private committee to implement the clinic program and planned to request the mayor to appoint a public committee; *Battle Creek* organized an interracial committee; adopted recommendations for a program. A Negro teacher in the public schools and a community-relations club are re-

ported; *Grand Rapids* set up an interracial committee sponsored by the Council of Social Agencies and the local Council of Churches.

Several facts indicate other effects: The majority of leaders carrying out the clinics were white. They seemed much concerned that democracy should function in their communities so as to integrate Negroes and other racial minorities. There was usually careful preparation of factual material about local problems gathered by the leaders themselves through community self-surveys and presented in written reports. There seemed definite desire to face facts, not dodge them.

Again, there was a minimum of oratory and a maximum of straight talk. Constantly they were asking: "What are the facts?" "Why is the situation such as it is?" "What can we do about it?" "How can we get out and do it?" There was dispassionate study, analysis, and discussion of facts with little heated airing of personal attitudes and opinions. Where the facts were too limited, they decided to put the questions up for further exploration.

These clinics are a part of a national strategy worked out and fostered by the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America through its Department of Race Relations. Although the initiative in this effort to deal constructively with local racial situations was taken by the churches, the striking thing was that councils of social agencies, Y.M.C.A.'s and Y.W.C.A.'s, labor organizations, business associations, civic agencies, and branches of the city government rallied enthusiastically to share responsibility.

Everywhere there has been clear recognition that the interracial clinic is only *one step* in a long-time process. Every one of the clinics voted for some form of permanent interracial council or commission. The follow-up has been more successful in some communities than others but in all cases leaders testify that there has been developed new methods and techniques for treating old social sores.

George Edmund Haynes, a layman, is Executive Secretary of the Department of Race Relations of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, and author of a manual on methods and procedures of an interracial clinic, available at the Department, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y.

SIGNIFICANT DEVELOPMENTS IN EDUCATION

Monthly Article Contributed by E. George Payne, Dean Emeritus of the School of Education, New York University, and Editor of THE JOURNAL

The Grange, an Educational and Social Institution

Long ago I defined educational sociology as "science which describes and explains the institutions, social forms, social groups, and social processes, that is, the social relationships, in which the individual gains and organizes his experiences." I have no wish now to change that definition. Educational sociology, so defined, includes in its scope many agencies in the community, and in the rural community the Grange is the most significant. It is certain that in some communities the Grange serves a more significant educational function than the church, the school, or any other agency that has significant influence. Recently, I have become a member of Acorn Grange number 418 and can speak with a good deal of firsthand knowledge of its activities and its importance.

Acorn has a membership of approximately one hundred persons, varying in age from fifteen years to eighty with both sexes represented, women predominating. Although the Grange is a farmer organization and its ritual deals exclusively with farm function and products, there is only one bona fide farmer in the organization and we might even question his status as a farmer by rigid measures. This Grange chapter serves, then, to bring together persons of numerous vocations, mostly lobstermen and their wives, who have some other motive than farm improvement that brings and holds them together.

Acorn Grange cannot be regarded as typical of other chapters in its membership, but not atypical in its program. For that reason it will serve to illustrate the educational and social significance of an organization that is national in scope, of long standing, and extremely important in various respects, including social, political, educational, and economic matters. The community sets the particular emphasis. It has greater or less influence, depending upon variety, character, and influence of other community agencies. In any case, its educational and social influence is significant.

The central and vital feature of Acorn Grange is its program. Leaving out of account the initiation of new members and the business meetings, which are quite stereotyped and have no particular meaning except as an essential part of the organization, the essential and significant activity

is the program. Meetings occur regularly every two weeks throughout the year regardless of the weather, with special meetings on call. A part of each of these meetings is the "literary" and social program and it is this part of the meeting that attracts the attendance and keeps the organization intact.

What then is the character of the program? It is very simple. It consists of stories, anecdotes, poems, readings, and simple short playlets; the whole program is humorous. The members strive desperately to make it so. The members, moreover, are the performers. They appear to be constantly on the alert to find something interesting that they can bring to the meeting. Sooner or later every member makes a contribution. It is obvious, I think, to educators that such participation and activity on the part of the people of a community creates poise, confidence, and brings the personnel into contact with a great deal of literature of a sort. The program of the Grange, I should say, gives direction to the intellectual and, to a certain extent, the spiritual life of the community. One member said "I do not go to church, for we have our prayers and singing and this is more real than hearing a minister tell us to be good and then praying for us. These are our prayers."

Briefly, this is the first part of the program and represents the intellectual effort. The second part is the social and consists of community or what might be called folk dancing. Thus the Grange becomes the center of the intellectual life and activity of the community and it is a place of social activity and enjoyment in which each individual is active. What is there really in our urban communities that gives equal opportunity for self-expression?

BOOK REVIEWS

The Rebirth of Liberal Education, by FRED B. MILLETT. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1945, 179 pages.

This book is the report of eight months spent in visiting a number of colleges and universities where experimentation in the humanities was going on. The following institutions were visited: Reed, Scripps, Sarah Lawrence, Vassar, Bennington, Hamilton, Cornell, Michigan, Chicago, Iowa, California, Stanford, Colorado, Vanderbilt, Princeton, and Colgate. No competent observer could visit so many colleges without bringing back something worth reporting. Professor Millett's reports of experimental programs and courses and of experimentation in the techniques of teaching make interesting and profitable reading. This is true even though it is also true that such observations are likely to be out of date before they can be printed. Of perhaps more enduring value is the chapter dealing with personnel in the humanities.

Better Colleges—Better Teachers, by RUSSELL M. COOPER. New York: Distributed by the Macmillan Company, 1944, 167 pages.

This book is the report of a study relating to the preparation of high-school teachers in liberal-arts colleges. It is concerned with twenty-eight selected colleges in the north central territory. The basis and most sensible assumption on which the study is based is that if we want better high-school teachers we shall have to have better colleges in which to educate these high-school teachers. How, and in what ways, to improve these colleges is the real concern of the study. Useful and practical suggestions are presented under the following headings: the pursuit of objectives, building the curriculum, the improvement of instruction, the college personnel program, freshman orientation and guidance, professional work in teacher education, the contribution of extracurricular activities, and working with college faculties.

Teacher in America, by JACQUES BARZUN. New York: Little, Brown and Company, 1945, 321 pages.

Jacques Barzun has written brilliantly about college teachers and college teaching. It represents, indeed, the most comprehensive treatment of

higher education that has been attempted by one writer in recent years. The book is most readable and exceedingly provocative. Barzun is at his best, as is to be expected, when he is dealing with those areas that he knows best: English, literature, history, the classics, and modern languages. In these areas he is both critical and fair. In dealing with the arts he had the good judgment to seek competent advice from those who knew the field. He has had enough experience as a college and university teacher to be able to deal adequately with many problems of teaching and with teacher-student relationships. He was far less than brilliant in his treatment of matters involving academic freedom. In his treatment of courses in education and with the Ph.D. in Education he was merely the intolerant and uninformed critic, who would have been well advised either to admit that he did not know this area well enough to discuss it intelligently or to have sought counsel from those who did. In spite of its serious weaknesses, the book will be deservedly popular and merits serious reading.

Educational Inbreeding, by HAROLD E. SNYDER. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1943, 160 pages.

This study, which is concerned with the employing practices of public-school systems, establishes no clear case for or against the employment of local persons as teachers. The problem, to the extent that there is one, relates primarily to women elementary teachers, since men teachers, and high-school teachers generally, tend to be employed on bases other than residence in the community. The study discloses that the nonlocal woman teacher is more likely than her local colleague to be a normal-school or college graduate, to have taken courses during the past seven years, to have taught in at least one other community, to belong to the National Education Association, to have traveled slightly more widely, and to have exercised educational leadership as reflected in addresses, articles, and innovations in method or curriculum. Probably the best conclusion is that an effort should be made to select the best teachers available without reference to place of residence. This should result in a reasonable percentage of local teachers, but not in a preponderance of local talent.

Consider the Calendar, by BHOLA D. PANTH. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1944, 138 pages.

The problem of calendar reform has challenged mankind ever since the earliest calendars were established to facilitate planning of agricultural activities that must coincide with the annual cycle of the seasons. Dr. Panth presents a skillfully organized, scholarly survey of the history and nature of our present calendar and shows its shortcomings with illustrations from industrial and social uses of the calendar. He analyzes in detail the problems of planning a calendar in terms of the natural year, day, month, and the man-made seven-day week.

Basic calendar patterns which are described include the following: the Mohammedan (lunar), the Egyptian (solar), the Hebrew (luni-solar), the Roman (ten month), the Julian (old style), and the Gregorian (new style).

The eleven basic weaknesses of our present calendar and five criteria of a good calendar are presented, and the frequently proposed methods of calendar reform are explained in detail. The appendix discusses holidays of the United States and means of computing the day of the week for any date. A selected list of forty-five references is provided. This volume should prove to be of much value to high-school and college teachers of generalized or survey courses in science and to teachers in the social studies.

Elementary Educational Psychology, edited by CHARLES E. SKINNER. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1945, 440 pages.

This cooperative undertaking is a modern, streamlined presentation by seven outstanding authorities in the field of educational psychology, giving significant facts and data from a functional and dynamic point of view. There are twenty chapters organized under five main heads.

Teachers and others dealing with children will find many helpful suggestions to aid them in solving their problems. Of special interest are the chapters on Personality and Behavior, Intelligence and Aptitude, Individual Differences and School Adjustments, The Dynamics of Learning, Mental Hygiene, and the Nature and Techniques of Guidance.

Each chapter contains questions and exercises for discussion and study, as well as a complete bibliography.

Pioneering in Penology, by THORSTEN SELLIN. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1944, viii + 125 pages.

Pioneering in Penology is a revealing chapter in the history of human progress. It is the story of the Amsterdam houses of correction—the *Rasphuis* for men and the *Spinhuis* for women—in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The Dutch burghers of old Amsterdam, grown wealthy through their world-wide commerce and wise through their readings of the rediscovered writings of Plato and Seneca and their zealous and careful study of the Bible, developed an enlightened attitude toward the social misfits of their city. In their houses of correction, which are thoroughly described in this study, one finds a remarkably modern conception of the necessity for re-educating malefactors. In the *Rasphuis*, or men's house, the emphasis was upon useful work—the rasping of dyewood and the weaving of cloth. In the *Spinhuis*, or women's house, the useful occupations included spinning and sewing. Boards of public-spirited citizens were in charge of the administration of these correctional houses, while the financing of the ventures was through the sale of the products of the work shops and through special excise taxes. Dr. Sellin gives in great detail facts about the types of prisoners, the daily routine, rules of behavior, means of punishment, treatment of children and youthful offenders, and he indicates the influence of these Amsterdam ventures upon correctional institutions all over the Continent.

The study is thoroughly scholarly, brilliantly written, and extremely interesting.

Vocational Interests and Job Orientation, a Ten-Year Review, by HAROLD D. CARTER. California: Stanford University, Stanford University Press, 1944, 85 pages.

A comprehensive review of research and related literature on vocational interests bringing up to date the summary made in 1931 by Douglas Fryer in *The Measurement of Interests*. This is the second significant volume on vocational interests to appear in the past two years, the other being E. K. Strong's *Vocational Interests of Measurement*, released by the same publisher. Together they constitute what are probably the most significant contributions to this subject in the past decade. They will not interest readers who regard all statistics as dull, or who prefer to base their

professional decisions on the recommendation of some "authority" rather than on their own examination of the evidence. But any one who wants to get his feet solidly on the ground, any one who wants to be sure of what we do know and what we do not know about vocational interests, cannot afford to overlook either of these two volumes.

The Cotton Mill Worker, by HERBERT J. LAHNE. New York: Farrar and Rinehart, Inc., 1944, xiii + 303 pages.

This is a volume in the *Labor in Twentieth Century America Series*. The series aims to present the definitive history of the men and women who have worked for a living in the nation's major fields of production since the turn of the century. By the close of the nineteenth century, the dominant patterns which American life has since assumed were already taking form. The labor movement, having shed its middle-class reformist characteristics, had become primarily committed to a program of securing higher wages, shorter hours, and better working conditions through economic means. The present volume tells the story of America's oldest factory workers, the cotton mill workers. The author considers the labor force in the New England cotton mills in connection with successive waves of immigration of workers from abroad who took their places in the mills of the New England river towns. Later, in the eighties of the last century, the southern mills began to complement the nation's total production of cotton goods. Such factors as wages, working conditions, living conditions, hours of labor, the work of women and children, paternalism, technological development and industrial evolution, religion, health, and union activities are treated in great detail in extremely well-documented chapters. This is an exhaustive piece of research and a worthy addition to this important series.

The Printing Trades, by JACOB LOFT. New York: Farrar and Rinehart, Inc., 1944, xiii + 301 pages.

This is another volume in the *Labor in Twentieth Century America Series*. This time it is the story of the printing workers which is told. Printing, perhaps as no other craft, touches all of us very closely and the problems and aspirations of the brethren of printing crafts is of immediate concern to us. Mr. Loft compares the labor relations in the news-

paper and commercial fields, and evaluates critically the five skilled unions and their contributions to the American labor scene. This is a fine study of a field that has a long and vital labor history. Such topics as the migration of printing, hours, wages, working conditions, union activities, industrial relations, and arbitration comprise the bulk of this carefully planned and well-authenticated research.

Costa Rican Life, by JOHN and MAVIS BIESANZ. New York: Columbia University Press, 1944, 272 pages.

This is a plain and evidently trustworthy account of the actual life and culture of Costa Rica, the smallest and one of the least known of the Latin American countries and yet one of the most democratic and progressive.

Following the sociological pattern of the Lynds' *Middletown*, the authors chose to give us not a study of the life of the upper strata in the capital city nor an anthropological study of Indian life in a remote Indian village, but rather a study of the everyday life of ordinary middle-class men, women, and children in a town that is neither metropolis nor rural community.

After a brief historical survey of the little country of the Ticos, as the other Latin Americans call the Costa Ricans, chapters are devoted to a study of class and everyday living, courtship and marriage, family life, education, work, play, religion, and democracy. A fairly complete bibliography brings this competent study to a close.

Work Book in Educational Measurements and Evaluation, by HARRY A. GREENE and JOHN R. CRAWFORD. New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1945, 144 pages.

This is a revision and extension of a manual written some time ago by Greene and is designed to be used in connection with courses in educational measurements.

The manual consists of 45 problems organized in ten units as follows:

- I Using and Improving the Essay Examination
- II Improving Informal Objective Tests
- III-VI Statistical Computations
- VII Using Measures of Variability in Interpreting Test Scores
- VIII Making and using Norms for Tests

IX Summarizing and Interpreting Test Results

X Applying Criteria to the Evaluation of Informal and Standardized Tests

Each unit is preceded by a set of references and each problem provides blanks well systematized for solutions.

The manual is well adapted to its purpose, and even if only partially used, should prove of value in the hands of a student who is seeking mastery of concepts and processes.

Elementary Statistics for Students of Education and Psychology, by EDWARD B. VANORMER and CLARENCE O. WILLIAMS. New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1945, 111 pages.

This offset processed text is in its third printing and its popularity is well justified. It deals with the elements of the subject in simple clear language and exposition of processes. Basic theories and mathematical derivations are omitted. A number of basic assumptions underlying procedures are noted. A section at the end presents about nine pages of problems and exercises with answers. A good classified bibliography and a summary of definitions, formulas, and symbols are included in the appendix.

Elementary Statistics, by HYMAN LEVY and E. E. PRESIDEL. New York: The Ronald Press, 1945, 184 pages.

This small text, written by English mathematicians, is in distinct contrast to similar treatments by American authors. Emphasis is placed by them upon mathematical derivations, probability, Bernoulli's theorem and Gauss's Law of Error. The text concludes with a consideration of "Elements of Quality Control" and "The Limitations of Normal Statistical Analysis." Answers to textual problems are given in the pages following the text.

The text will be especially appreciated by and useful to students of engineering, physics, mathematics, and other sciences.

One notes the lack of treatment of the geometric and harmonic means and the omission of mention of the small sample theory. Not one bibliography reference or citation occurs in the text.

American Labor Unions, by FLORENCE PETERSON. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1945, xiii + 338 pages.

American Labor Unions is a comprehensive statement of how labor organizations operate in this country. As such, it is an excellent reference book. It gives a tremendous amount of information on all aspects of unions in the United States. After a brief historical summary of the birth and development of labor organizations, the volume describes in great detail the structure, rules, and qualifications for membership, government, and finances of the numerous unions and federated bodies. Methods of carrying on collective bargaining are especially well covered. A glossary of over 250 words, terms, and basic laws pertaining to labor and labor unions is a most helpful adjunct of the book. An appendix contains the constitutions of both the A.F. of L. and the C.I.O. *American Labor Unions*, though popular in treatment, meets a long-felt need of students in the social studies, in labor and personnel relations, and in social work.

Methods of Vocational Guidance, by GERTRUDE FORRESTER. Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1944, 460 pages.

Although written primarily for the business teacher, this book will be helpful to any one looking for specific methods of helping students to plan their vocational lives.

Among innumerable suggestions for stimulating an interest in vocations are practical, interesting assignments for students, several skits illustrating vocational themes, and photographs of attractive book exhibits. Particularly good are the chapters on "The Homeroom Activities, Quiz Contests and Guessing Games" and "The Career Conference."

The strong point of the book is its extensive listing of source materials and the great variety of suggestions for using them. There is relatively little on testing or counseling.

Character-Analysis: Principles and Technique. For Psychoanalysts in Practice and in Training, by WILHELM REICH. Translated from the second German edition by Theodore P. Wolfe. New York: Orgone Institute Press, 1945, 328 pages.

The publication of the English translation of this book which originally appeared in German in 1933 is an outstanding event in psycho-

analysis. It makes directly accessible to the American reader the work which was most influential in focussing attention on the total personality and character of the individual rather than his symptoms and in clarifying their interrelatedness. It was Reich who first pointed out that a person develops characteristic attitudes as a defense; an attitude of ingratiating compliance, inward mockery, detached aloofness, or sadistic domination. These, he felt, were defenses against the anxieties produced through the frustration which social conditions imposed upon the sexual strivings. For Reich never forsook Freud's original basic teachings. Despite his noteworthy attack upon Freud's later death instinct theory (since Reich always insisted that man's strivings are fundamentally toward living), the book is replete with technical Freudian terminology. However his work gave enormous impetus to the study of character, which subsequently became one of the foremost concerns of psychoanalysis, as illustrated with noteworthy originality in Karen Horney's recent *Our Inner Conflicts*.

Unfortunately the relationship of the social conditions to the development of character and neurosis is not described in detail either by Reich (who stalwartly defended his thesis against Freud's charge that he had a political axe to grind) or to any great extent in subsequent discoveries of psychoanalysis. It remains one of the great tasks of psychosociological research. Reich's contributions to analytic technique, however, are unparalleled in the literature. Few students or practising analysts, despite their disagreements with much of his theory or practice, can fail to read his pages without the sense of excitement which accompanies new and rewarding insights. There is, for example, a superb analysis of masochism with its compulsion to torture others through torturing one's self, not as a will to suffer or as pleasure in pain, but as a search for pleasure in living by devious routes which because of unfavorable conditioning have become associated with pain. The present volume also includes an appendix that embodies the direction of Reich's later studies. In these he emphasizes not continued exploration of the character but what he considered the importance of the orgasm for the total social and sexual fulfillment of the individual. Though this later work gives evidence of earnest research and is not to be dismissed lightly, his ideas here are untried and unproved and susceptible to hazardous misapplication. Reservations regarding the orgasm theory do not in any way detract from the original contribution of *Character-Analysis*.